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ABSTRACT

Bilingual education programs and policies in three countries with sizable minorities, Sweden, Australia, and the Federal Republic of Germany, are examined in order to gauge both the extent to which children with limited proficiency in the dominant language are in integrated classrooms and the degree of their social integration. First, the acceptance of foreign nationals into the Swedish labor force and communities and the elaboration of social policies toward those persons are outlined. The assumptions underlying bilingual education in Sweden are discussed along with four alternative forms of classroom organization that are being tried and the level of social integration of immigrant groups. Second, bicultural education in Australia is considered in terms of Aborigine education; education about the Aborigines; the induction of immigrants; ESL instruction; supplementary bilingual education programs; social studies and foreign language education; the response of education departments to the need for teacher training; and the debate over multiculturalism versus social integration. Third, the following dimensions to bilingual education in the Federal Republic of Germany are reviewed: policies toward guestworkers, political refugees, and European Economic Community nationals; the change from segregationist to integrationist approaches to the education of guestworkers' children; difficulties in integrating foreign students academically and socially; the problems of inner city enclaves of immigrants; and the question of repatriation. (RDN)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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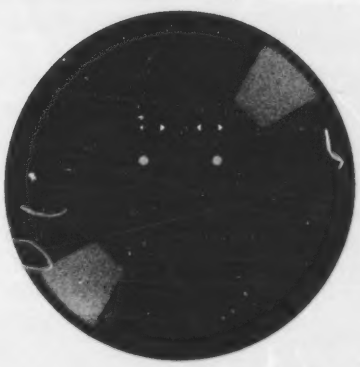

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION*

Susanne M. Shafer

Bilingual education is a concept variously interpreted around the globe. For some it brings to mind a society where schools ensure that every child has a full command of two languages. Others believe that in bilingual education classes minority children will be taught in their own language and will simultaneously be introduced to the mainstream language, whatever it may be. There are also those who insist that a child who is deficient in the mainstream language because that child's parents converse in a different language at home ought to be taught the mainstream language as rapidly and efficiently as possible. They call that arrangement bilingual education. Finally, there are all those who admit to being unsure about the meaning of bilingual education and its proper implementation. Politicians and other educational planners often fall into this category.

To inform politicians and other educational decision makers, bilingual education specialists must clearly explain the outcomes of the various forms that bilingual education may take. One aspect of particular importance to United States educational planners is the extent to which children with limited English proficiency are in integrated classrooms during the school day and the degree of social integration that may be an expected outcome of a bilingual education program. A look at bilingual education programs and poli-

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*This paper was presented at the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) convention in Washington, D.C., on February 17, 1983.

cies in three countries with sizable minorities, namely, Sweden, Australia, and the Federal Republic of Germany, may clarify this matter.

SWEDEN

Immigrant Population

Sweden has a large immigrant population, making it a far less homogeneous country than it may appear to the short-term visitor from abroad. "Nearly one million immigrants constitute almost 10 percent of Sweden's population" (Council of Europe, 1982, p. 28), two-fifths of them are Finns (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979). They may enter Sweden freely as part of an agreement among the Nordic powers, i.e., Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland. Besides Finns, Danes, and Norwegians, who have come to Sweden in the postwar years, there are immigrants from Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, West Germany, and Poland, as well as from other European and non-European countries (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979). Approximately 20,000 immigrants have entered Sweden annually up to the present. They tend to be young persons, often families, as shown by the fact that one-third of the total are children (Stockfelt-Hoatson, 1981). "Of all alien children up to the age of 9, a full 73% were born in Sweden....One fourth of all married aliens have a spouse born in Sweden" (Swedish Institute, 1978, p. 1). More live in urban than in rural regions.

Half of all immigrants live in the three metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmo. No less that 30 percent live in the County of Stockholm. At the beginning of 1978, 19 of the 277 municipalities in Sweden had immigrant populations of more than 10 percent and 61 had immigrant populations exceeding 5 percent (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979).

Policy

As Sweden accepted foreign nationals into its labor force and its communities, the nation elaborated its social policies toward these persons. Since most policies are formulated at the national level, a comprehensive approach was possible. In 1965, immigrants became entitled to free Swedish lessons under the aegis of the adult education association (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979). As the government realized that immigrants were likely to remain in Sweden for protacted periods, if not forever, the policy toward immigrants was reviewed and a new one articulated. Its three main aims were equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. "Immigrant and minority groups must have the same opportunities, rights, and obligations as the rest of the population....Linguistic minorities must...have an opportunity, within the framework of Swedish society of expressing their own linguistic and cultural identity....Members of linguistic minorities must be able to decide the extent to which they are to retain and develop their original cultural and linguistic identity" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 11). That they should feel free to return to their home countries was emphasized. A mutual and comprehensive partnership based on equality, tolerance, and solidarity should exist between immigrant groups and the rest of the population as well as between immigrant and minority groups themselves. To effect the last aim, "efforts have been made to improve knowledge concerning immigrants and other countries, peoples and cultures in order to alleviate the tendency towards prejudice and enhance mutual understanding and solidarity between different immigrant groups" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 14). Also, "in 1976 foreign nationals obtained the right to vote and to stand for office in local and regional elections" (Council of Europe, 1982, p. 28). Immigrant parents were now drawn into parent councils in the schools. Immigrant adults

continued to have access to free instruction in the Swedish language and orientation to Swedish society (Swedish Institute, 1983-84).

In support of the basic policy of equality, freedom of choice, and partnership, the Swedish **Riksdag**, or parliament, passed a law that mandates teaching the immigrant child's home language, and they made grants to the affected municipalities accordingly. "The decision made it the duty of municipal authorities actively to contribute towards promoting and stimulating bilingualism among immigrant children and children of Swedish linguistic minorities" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1977, p. 3). The **Riksdag** also passed social legislation coordinating family, cultural, housing, and social policies for immigrants. The National Swedish Board of Education developed careful guidelines for schools to follow as they attempted to provide bilingual/multicultural education for children with a home language other than Swedish. Significant numbers of pupils were and are eligible.

> In 1980 the reform was applicable to 86,000 pupils who were assessed by their teachers to fit in with the definition. 1,600 pupils needed only study guidance in their home language; 34,000 were taught their home language as a special subject. 16,500 needed both teaching and study guidance in their home language. 40,500 took part in extra tuition in Swedish. (Stockfelt-Hoatson, 1981)

A series of assumptions underlie the policy of bilingual/multicultural education of Sweden's immigrant population. For example, "giving immigrant children a good education is one way of increasing equality and preventing ostracism" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 13). Equality here is also viewed economically. That "youth employment among immigrants is twice that of their Swedish peers" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 25) has helped Swedes to recognize the immigrants' disadvantage in the labor market when they have little education, no vocational skills, and a poor command of Swedish.

Swedes also realize that "the pre-requisites of partnership include knowledge of the Swedish language and knowledge concerning Swedish society on the part of the immigrant" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 15), but that immigrants and their children should not be forced to ignore their cultural roots. Parents and children should be encouraged to retain their cultural values, and Swedes should be helped to realize that these provide a positive context for immigrant families. Furthermore, "since immigrant children, by reason of their Swedish schooling, are influenced more rapidly than their parents by Swedish culture, a serious conflict of cultures is liable to break out in the home unless the children are helped to feel at home in two cultures" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 17).

Linguistic policy for immigrants rests on still other premises. "Bilingualism is a process, not a static condition, and the development of both languages must therefore be constantly nourished" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 19). Although absolutely equal command of two languages may not be attainable, immigrants can be helped to develop both and to be able to use each at will in different situations. Immigrant pupils must be made ready linguistically to perfect their Swedish for coping in upper secondary school where all instruction is in Swedish. In that school, pupils select a vocational track or a pre-university program leading to a specific occupation. Instruction in Swedish, a foreign language to these pupils, must begin early and remain throughout. For further schooling, vocational preparation, and later participation in the community, a good command of Swedish is essential.

Practice

Since immigrants tend to cluster in municipalities, the practice is to place their children in schools where they then constitute a sizable part of

the student body. Because of the variety of immigrants' countries of origin, many schools have an equal variety of such children in their classrooms. No matter what the proportions of different nationals are in a classroom, pupils may have elected home language instruction. Swedish as a second language begins when the child enters school and continues from then on. Where foreign students are grouped together, their classes are small, often under 15 altogether. These same pupils receive extra help in their home language and in the subjects they are taking during the school day.

Four alternative forms of classroom organization are being tried in Sweden:

1. Ordinary classes, in which the pupils leave some hours each week to attend home language instruction (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 45).
2. Composite classes, deliberately organized so that half of the pupils are Swedes and half are immigrants with the same mother tongue. In this case, a large part of the teaching is conducted in the home language with a special home language teacher. While this teacher works with the immigrant pupils, a Swedish teacher works with the Swedish pupils (Council of Europe, 1982, p. 28).
3. Home language classes, where, in principle, all instruction is given in the home language and various amounts of instruction in Swedish as a foreign language are also included.
4. Preparatory classes, comprising one or more language groups, where lessons are taken in Swedish but pupils can also be taught the home language and given study guidance in the home language (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 45).

In 1982 there were about 600 home language classes with a common home language other than Swedish (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1982), including 278 with Finnish-speaking pupils. Others included Turks, Arabs, Spaniards, and Yugoslavs. "[A]n estimated 7,750 pupils were being taught in composite classes" (National Swedish Board of Education, 1979, p. 45). Most students actually attend ordinary classes with their Swedish peers since there are few trained home language teachers. Those students needing supplementary instruction in Swedish or in other subjects receive it. Many forego home language instruction because it interferes with the regular program of their class group.

To conduct home language instruction and teach the home language classes, Sweden has brought in teachers from the immigrant pupils' countries of origin. Often these persons need additional teacher preparation to work in their new classrooms more in the manner of Sweden's teachers. For native Swedish teachers, inservice education has been used to familiarize them with the cultures of their immigrant pupils and with the latter's educational needs. More teachers of Swedish are being trained to teach Swedish as a foreign language (Council of Europe, 1980).

Social Integration

Recently, Sweden's Immigration Minister launched a campaign in schools to stop racial incidents "between gangs of 'skinheads' and groups of immigrant youth" (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1982, p. 13). Clearly, the spirit of mutual tolerance of culturally different students has not yet been achieved in Sweden.

The fact that 7,400 Finns are taught in entirely separate classes from all other students attending Sweden's schools (**The Times Educational Supple-**

ment, 1982) would appear to foster potential social conflict among children, youth, or, eventually, adults. Housing patterns further interfere with social integration. Low-cost housing complexes often contain enclaves of Turks, Greeks, or other immigrant groups.

Social integration of immigrants is also slowed by keeping the door open for Turks and other southern Europeans to move back to their mother country any time they wish. Expecting to be uprooted, their children may view full integration into Swedish life as an exercise in futility. Friendships with Swedish youth may be a rare occurrence under these circumstances. In turn, Swedish children and youth may suspect that their immigrant peers do not genuinely share their interests.

The degree or ease of social integration of immigrant youth into Swedish society may correlate with the immigrants' desire to remain in Sweden in preference to returning to their countries of origin. Political conditions and employment prospects may be such as to discourage immigrants from leaving Sweden with its varied educational opportunities, its extensive social services, and its relatively strong economy. Even today Swedish teachers are being aided in working effectively with immigrant students. When the latter reach the age to enter the upper secondary school with its different concentrations on vocational, technical, or pre-university programs, they receive special consideration in the admission process (Norberg, 1981). Social and vocational integration is thus attempted once more before the immigrant youth enters the work force. As will be noted in the subsequent case studies, Australian and West German approaches to bilingual education for their immigrant populations vary noticeably from Sweden's policies.

AUSTRALIA

Aborigines

Like the United States, Australia had a native population when the British began to settle it in the late 18th century. While the Aborigines are believed to have migrated to Australia from the Asian land mass at least 38,000 years ago, they are seen as native to the continent. Australia's Aborigines, like United States Native Americans, retain to a greater or lesser extent their systems of religion, law and social organization, languages, ceremonies and myths, and their art.

The 160,000 Aborigines are divided into about 500 tribes using 202 different languages (Bullivant, 1981). They live in their own bush or desert settlements on reserves or in fringe areas of urban centers, sometimes interspersed with other Australians. Altogether, they constitute 1.2 percent of Australia's total population. Because of a high birthrate and a possible undercount, this percentage may increase in the next decade (Australian Information Service, 1980). There are also some who are part Aborigine, although assimilation is a rare phenomenon.

> In every conceivable comparison, the Aborigines...stand in stark contrast to the general Australian society, and also to the other "ethnic" groups, whether defined on the basis of race, nationality, birthplace, language or religion. They probably have the highest birth rate, the highest death rate, the worst health and housing, and the lowest educational, occupational, economic, social and legal status of any identifiable section of the Australian population. (National Population Enquiry, 1975, p. 455)

Aborigines continue to encounter racial discrimination, but more of them are becoming politicized and determined to obtain greater equity for their people.

Aborigine education. For a long time, the education of Aborigines in Australia either was neglected or mirrored Anglo education. In general, discrimination by Anglos dictated segregated education or none at all. Aborigines feared that the education prescribed by Anglos would destroy their own cultural values. It had little economic and social relevance in view of their legal and spatial exclusion from Anglo areas. After World War II a policy of assimilation was made official. Provisions for educating Aborigines even in remote areas began to be promulgated (Fitzgerald, 1976).

Only in the mid-1960s and the early 1970s did the government of Australia undertake a policy based on ethnic respect for the Aborigine. At that time, attention began to be paid to the language Aborigine children brought to school, to curriculum alterations in keeping with Aborigine culture and aspirations, and to the development of a corps of Aborigine teachers and teacher aides. Community colleges began to run courses for the latter. More Aborigines now are being encouraged to continue their education to become teachers for their own people. Non-native teachers are taught more about Aborigines, their culture, and their difficulties in Australian society, as well as the language problems encountered by Aborigines in schools. Experimental programs of English as a second language and initial instruction in either the native Aboriginal language or in one of the Creoles, a form of pidgin, have been started (Absolom, 1981).

In developing curricula appropriate to the Aborigine, certain problems must be faced. One of them, Fitzgerald (1976) notes, is the sacred/secret nature of the culture which, according to tribal custom, cannot be transmitted to the uninitiated. Other aspects clearly clash with European-style classroom culture, such as the emphasis on counting, competition, and personal achievement. Aboriginal children's language differs semantically from that of their

Anglo peers. For example, one Aborigine language lacks the word "or." Aborigines, furthermore, belong to different tribes with languages not mutually intelligible. A single bilingual program is possible only where all Aborigine children have the same home language. The home language may be a Creole rather than an Aborigine tribal language, and sometimes it is a nonstandard English.

Even today, Aborigines have low school attendance records, especially at the secondary level. Fitzgerald (1976) reports that few ever pass the examinations at the end of high school. Few acquire adequate vocational skills. As a result, "65.8 per cent of Aboriginals are employed in poorly paid, low status jobs at the bottom of the scale, as contrasted with 19.3 per cent of the general population" (Fitzgerald, 1976, p. 190). Not surprisingly, their housing is below standard and their health is poor. Discrimination and expectation of discrimination are potent factors in Aboriginal lives, adding to the feeling of hopelessness.

A change may be underway now that the Aborigines' legal and ethnic rights have been more fully recognized. Fitzgerald (1976) notes that "a feeling of separate identity has always been strong among Aboriginals, but it has become even stronger in recent years, bringing with it growing cohesion among the various and disparate groups" (p. 195).

> Aboriginal parents in urban areas tend to value education as an agent of upward social mobility for their children. In traditional areas we found that most Aboriginals are aware of the necessity for literacy, numeracy, and a knowledge of English to deal with the major society and to achieve independence. This awareness is reflected in their support of schooling in the out-stations: small, isolated groups where Aboriginals have a large measure of control over their own affairs. (Fitzgerald, 1976, p. 185)

In a similar vein, Perry (1977) found that "Aborigines who had had schooling to secondary level, or higher, see schooling as the means to achieve political, social, and economic equality" (p. 9).

Teaching about the Aborigines. A look at the other side of things, namely at what Australian schools teach about the country's original inhabitants, reveals that a good many corrections are being made today. For decades Australian history began in textbooks with the arrival of Anglo settlers and convicts from the British Isles. Aboriginal culture was presented as quaint, and the people as inferior in ability and resourcefulness to Anglos (Fitzgerald, 1976).

Social studies programs are being altered today in the Australian states. Ethnic awareness and a more benign view of racial differences has suggested to curriculum developers that units on race and ethnic differences among Australia's population ought to be included in high school social studies classes. Print ('980) found that in Western Australia Year 9 includes a unit on the Aborigines and Year 10, one on race relations.

Other Minorities

Other large minorities in Australia are Greeks and Italians. Some of these, as well as Germans, have been on the Australian continent since before World War II, and their numbers have continued to increase into the present. Although acculturated to Australia's Anglo society and world of work, Greeks and Italians have retained their language and family ties. The Greeks have their own schools to teach the Greek language and culture to their youth. The Italians and the Greeks have classrooms in the state schools where instruction is in these two languages, respectively.

British immigrants have come to Australia from the beginning of settlement to the present. After World War II, they were joined by displaced persons: Jews, Hungarians, and other Europeans (see Figure 1).

In the 1970s, as Australians recognized their convergent economic and political interests with Asian countries, persons from Southeast Asia and other parts of Asia also began to be admitted as immigrants. Australia has been particularly open in allowing Vietnamese refugees to enter. Today its population stands at 14.5 million with 20 percent having no British or Irish ancestry (Australian Information Service, 1980). Australia's cities have distinctly multicultural populations, Melbourne being a good example. Table 1 dramatically testifies to the cultural diversity of the state of Victoria, 70

Figure 1

SETTLER MIGRATION BY NATIONALITY
(1947-1963)

(Stoller, 1966, p. 20)

Table 1

SUMMARY OF ETHNIC STUDENTS RANKED BY MAIN LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

Language	Number of Speakers	Percent of Total Ethnic Students
Greek	34007	24.2
Italian	26508	18.9
English	20312	14.5
Maltese	5879	4.2
German	5779	4.1
Yugoslav (Croatian)	5128	3.7
Dutch (including Flemish)	4832	3.4
Turkish	4690	3.3
Yugoslav (Macedonian)	4506	3.2
Yugoslav (Serbian)	3867	2.8
Chinese (All)	2735	1.9
Arabic (Lebanese)	2203	1.6
Greek (Macedonian)	2157	1.5
Hungarian	1381	1.0
Polish	1358	1.0
Spanish (South American)	1342	1.0
Arabic	1035	0.7
Spanish	968	0.7
Vietnamese	954	0.7
French	901	0.6
Russian	882	0.6
Yugoslav (Slovenian)	868	0.6
Indian languages	772	0.6
Albanian	680	0.5
French (Mauritian)	604	0.4
Ukrainian	436	0.3
Czech	423	0.3
Malay	302	0.2
Latvian	286	0.2
Portuguese	275	0.2
Finnish	259	0.2
Japanese	205	0.1
Armenian	202	0.1
Tagalog-Filipino	201	0.1
Rumanian	184	0.1
Laotian	164	0.1
Indonesian	161	0.1
Lithuanian	141	0.1
Yiddish	94	0.1
Cambodian	79	0.1
Estonian	70	0.0
Thai	68	0.0
Tetum (Timorese)	51	0.0
Slovak	49	0.0
Portuguese (South American)	46	0.0
Portuguese (Timorese)	44	0.0
Bulgarian	43	0.0
Other European	562	0.4
Other	1199	0.9
Unknown	445	0.3
	140337	100.0

(Planning Services, 1980, p. 9)

percent of whose residents live in that city (Australian Information Service, 1980).

The induction of migrants (immigrants). Australians speak of their immigrants--the people who come to live there--as migrants, perhaps because not all have made a commitment to stay in the country permanently. For those who come these days from non-English-speaking regions of the world, an acculturation process has been designed.

In the state of Victoria, refugees from Southeast Asia are first taken to hostels in Melbourne. These are funded by the federal government in Canberra. Children are asked to go to Reception Language Centers where they receive their first exposure to English. They also learn about the school system and the schools they may wish to attend. Within six months they transfer in groups of no more than 20 children to the local schools. The limit is set so that no school or classroom will be saturated with immigrants and to ensure individual attention for each newcomer. In the meantime, their parents are also taught English in the hostels, and they are oriented to Australian society and helped to find work or begin vocational training.

Other forms of assistance have also been set up for adult immigrants. Interpreters help them to deal with local authorities, school administrators, and social workers. Intensive courses in English for professionally trained immigrants help them adapt their knowledge and skills to the Australian situation. Similar courses exist for those with technical backgrounds. In each case a modest living allowance is provided. In addition, part-time courses in English are available, and immigrant women who are at home have opportunities to learn English from home tutors (Taft, 1981).

Educational Provisions for an Ethnically Diverse Population

In view of Australia's present population, one may well ask how their ethnic diversity is accommodated in schools and through informal education elsewhere. Historically, White, English-speaking Australia treated immigrants from non-English-speaking countries just as they did Aborigines. It was felt that the sooner these persons learned English the better. No cultural rivalry was conceivable nor was Australian unity to be threatened by the intrusion of another language. The school system reflected this policy of assimilation. As an increasingly varied group of immigrants entered the country in the 1950s and 1960s, teachers expected their students to try to learn English and to cope in schools as well as they could. Equality of opportunity was interpreted to mean that all children should be treated "in exactly the same way, as if they were all little Anglo-Saxons" (Harris, 1980, p. 26).

A shift to a more child-centered philosophy in the mid-1960s, along with the realization that many immigrant children were not adapting well in school, brought about greater sensitivity to the cultural conflict experienced by children from non-English-speaking homes in Anglo-Australian classrooms. In a Schools Commission Report of 1975, the rationale for a multicultural approach to their education was presented. Harris refers to it in a later government report.

> Comprehensive planning to meet the needs of migrant children must address itself to the question of their **identity** and self-esteem. The migrant child needs to be viewed in the context of his family and ethnic group affiliation if his individuality and integrity are to be respected and if his educational experiences are to be directly related to his actual life....The variable interest among adult migrants and their children in maintaining **dual cultural identity** must also be taken into account in planning. It follows that the multicultural reality of Australian society needs to be reflected in school curricula...in staffing and in school organization. While these changes are particularly important to undergird the self-

> esteem of migrant children they also have application for all Australian children growing up in a society which could be greatly enriched through a wider sharing in the variety of cultural heritages now present in it. (Harris, 1980, p. 27)

The more sympathetic approach to the education of immigrant children has, to some extent, been hampered in its implementation by the schools' lack of experience with any careful acculturation of culturally diverse immigrants. In the last 30 years or so, the heterogeneity of immigrants to the country has been further compounded by wide differences in the amount of education they had received before coming to Australia (Taft, 1981). Schools have had to make adjustments accordingly as they have tried to ease immigrant children into the educational system.

Once the immigrant families establish residence in one or another state, they tend to move from the inner city outward into suburbia as their employment and income improve. As a result, their children have been moved from school to school, creating some discontinuity in their instructional programs. Table 2 indicates the diversity of ethnic groups who send children to schools in Victoria.

In one primary school in suburban Melbourne, **The Age** (July 28, 1981, p. 18) reported, "...nearly three out of four children are from migrant families speaking 30 different languages. In a high school some miles away 38 per cent of the student body are immigrants' children and 37 different languages are spoken (Noble Park High School, Victoria, 1981)."

ESL language instruction. The first step taken by the federal government to reverse earlier approaches to migrant education was the establishment of the Child Migrant Education Program in 1970. It initiated programs of English as a second language (ESL) to speed up immigrant children's adaptation to the schools and to their new surroundings. Soon researchers began to

Table 2

MAIN LANGUAGES* SPOKEN BY ETHNIC STUDENTS IN EACH REGION

Language	Western Metro	Northern Metro	Central Metro	Eastern Metro	South Eastern Metro	Gippsland	Benalla	Bendigo	Geelong	Ballarat	Horsham	Total
Greek	4805	9678	8346	3325	6659	195	177	210	352	62	198	34007
Italian	5005	11249	1415	2695	3334	409	932	334	702	38	395	26508
English	2227	2632	1817	4827	3686	1702	893	596	1399	400	133	20312
Maltese	3488	1465	140	179	375	127	14	17	62	10	2	5879
German	910	618	299	1662	1247	242	244	61	419	54	23	5779
Yugoslav (Croatian)	1793	[illegible]	333	380	770	36	86	11	652	18	53	5128
Dutch (including Flemish)	376	293	112	1390	1175	355	255	74	715	78	39	4862
Turkish	618	1725	1350	109	546	4	82	40	73	1	142	4690
Yugoslav (Macedonian)	1791	1826	236	95	204	4	46	6	287	3	6	4504
Yugoslav (Serbian)	1225	643	494	294	815	36	65	7	249	26	13	3867
Chinese (all)	317	239	946	716	425	8	17	19	25	17	6	2735
Arabic (Lebanese)	310	1322	215	77	253	-	4	-	17	4	1	2203
Greek (Macedonian)	203	1379	234	181	63	9	73	4	8	1	2	2157
Hungarian	187	142	176	271	432	17	23	12	114	1	[illegible]	1381
Polish	396	189	107	174	283	31	30	15	115	16	2	1358
Spanish (South American)	350	155	289	106	428	9	-	2	3	-	-	1342

*Main languages are defined as those languages spoken by more than 1,200 students.

(Planning Services, 1980, p. 7)

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explore the successes and malfunctions of the new ESL programs. Teacher education institutions were asked to offer ESL as an option for prospective teachers. Budgets were expanded in order to accommodate the many eligible students. That number was hardly reduced during the 1970s, since over half of the immigrants today come from Asia or the Middle East and others come from South America or Turkey (Adams, 1981).

The purpose of the ESL programs has become remedial. ESL teachers are employed in primary, secondary, and technical schools. They are viewed as resource teachers. Generally, they take the students out of their regular classes to instruct them in English. A number of parents have decided that they prefer to have their children remain with their classes and forego ESL instruction. Some ESL instructors are part-time, monolingual (English) teachers who have been trained in a short, intensive course. "At the high school level the ESL teacher must be formally qualified in ESL, linguistics, or a modern language" (Adams, 1981). Here, as well as in the primary grades, they may be somewhat hampered by a shortage of suitable instructional materials.

Bilingual/bicultural education. Today, ESL programs have been supplemented by bilingual education programs in the elementary grades. In addition, bilingual Greek teacher aides work alongside ESL teachers in some classrooms. While programs in which teaching truly takes place in two languages are very rare, there are some underway experimentally. Martin (1978) reports that "[o]ne of the few well-developed programs is the Italian Bilingual Project being carried out in several primary schools in Adelaide. It involves the participation of bilingual teachers, teacher training, the importance and development of materials, and consultation with parents" (p. 126). At the secondary level, bilingual education programs either serve adolescents who have only recently arrived from non-English-speaking areas (for whom they

avoid an interruption of their conceptual development) or, having been started in primary schools, are intended to produce mature bilinguals (Martin, 1978). The social science curriculum for the age group 10-14, developed by Marto Rado in Victoria, is useful in such programs since it has been produced in English, Arabic, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Serbian, Spanish, and Turkish (Taft and Cahill, 1982).

If there is to be home-language maintenance, immigrant children are most likely to receive instruction in the native language as a foreign language at day schools, ethnic schools (which receive government grants), or at community language centers. At the latter (again with the help of government funds), teachers instruct children in their home language either after school or on Saturdays. Ethnic schools tend to be private or denominational. At the Greek schools, all subjects are taught in Greek. Code-switching is discouraged, to avoid any confusion on the part of children. According to Adams (1981), the state provides ethnic liaison officers for these schools, and it offers in-service education for their language teachers. Martin (1978) notes that "with important exceptions, teaching in ethnic schools is uneven and often poor. The curriculum is commonly geared to religious or other sectional interests within the ethnic community, the drop-out rate is high and little appears to be learned" p. 132).

Social studies education. While multicultural education is "still a fairly garbled area" (Adams, 1981), some multicultural programs have been organized in schools. They have met with considerable success at the primary level. One of the approaches has been to use a so-called multicultural resource teacher; another is to ask parents of different ethnicities to come to the classroom. Material on the cultural diversity of Australia has been introduced, particularly in the area of social studies.

The concern to build multicultural education has also taken hold at the secondary level. Organized ten years ago, the Victorian Secondary Social Science Project has stimulated social studies teachers to deal with Australia's immigrants and Aborigines (Victoria, 1980). Since the project wanted to bring schools, homes, and the community into a much closer relationship, one of the units produced centered on migrants in Australia. One school used the case studies on "Why Do People Migrate?" to help their students discover the reasons for migration. They used the statistical material appended to identify the places of origin of Australia's migrants. In addition, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and fictional material were used to fill in details about migrants. The students developed a questionnaire to be completed by students' parents if they were willing. It asked questions on such subjects as what country they came from, their reasons for coming to Australia, problems faced upon arrival, how they have overcome problems with the English language, and whether they practice their previous culture. Students then compared replies to their survey. Migrant students are a willing resource. Others become more insightful and empathetic regarding language difficulties and other problems experienced by Australia's migrant population (Victoria, 1974).

Foreign language education. Some schools pride themselves on encouraging every student to study a foreign language. It may be one spoken at home or it may be a new one. High schools offer several immigrant home languages as foreign languages. According to Adams (1981), 35 high schools in Victoria teach Greek as a modern foreign language. French, German, Italian, and Indonesian are taught in many secondary schools of that state. Teacher aides and volunteers bolster these programs. The range of foreign languages presented at the Victorian Higher School Certificate Examinations increased from eight

in 1964 to twenty in 1979 (Davis, 1981), although the percentage of students sitting for foreign language examinations has been shrinking during the same period.

Response of the education departments. Multicultural education and bilingual education need to be implemented first by the classroom teacher. Australian teachers are often uncertain how to respond to demands for bilingual education or multicultural education. Many lack the training for either. Others are not yet willing to exchange the goal of assimilation to further ethnic diversity. Without instructional materials geared to a multicultural approach, teachers are unsure how to proceed. In some cases, teachers and principals decide that the sheer variety of immigrants in their school make any program other than the traditional one impossible to implement.

The states' departments of education have responded to these dilemmas by establishing in-service education for primary and some secondary teachers. They have also organized materials-development workshops where, over a period of ten days in a residential setting, teachers concentrate on producing multicultural materials or units. Principals and other educational administrators are being helped to learn their students' ethnic characteristics and their implications for instruction. Seminars on immigrants' ethnic cultures and on sociolinguistics are also offered. State consultants for multicultural education work with parents to explain school goals and to identify cultural differences that require curriculum adjustments. In Victoria, school administrators are also shown how to work with interpreters who ease school/immigrant parent relations (Adams, 1981). The Victoria Department of Education and that of South Australia have collaborated on the Greek Curriculum Project. A pilot multicultural program, it is designed

> ...to meet the needs of both mother-tongue speakers and second-language learners from Years 1 to 8. The curriculum is designed to operate within the context of a school organization which recognizes the status and importance of Modern Greek....The project was funded in the hope that it will increase respect for Greek cultural and linguistic traditions in the Australian community. This, in turn, should bring a greater level of participation in society by those of Greek background. (**The Greek Curriculum Project**, 1981, p. 2)

The project consists of language lessons drawn from real life situations, involving the students in actual communication. The hope is that non-Greek parents will agree to have their children participate in the program.

The most comprehensive summary of what Australian multicultural and bilingual education are all about is contained in **Education for a Multicultural Society—Kit for Educators** (Wilkinson, 1981). In it are elaborate policy charts showing the reactions to these constructs on the part of trade unions, teachers, associations, political parties, ethnic interest groups, and the several departments of education in Australia. To these have been added papers prepared by specialists on such topics as curriculum perspectives, ethnic aides, interpreters, community languages, and an annotated reading list. Any teacher who goes through the materials in the kit will be broadly informed on multicultural and bilingual education, including some of their political implications.

Other government-sponsored activities. To fill a void experienced by immigrants cut off from radio and television in their native language, the government airs ethnic broadcasts. These are scheduled at set times throughout the week. How useful they are for bilingual education teachers or for bilingual children is difficult to assess.

In 1978 the Australian government issued the Galbally Report (Galbally, 1978). It dealt with the needs of immigrants with much more diversified cul-

tural backgrounds than in the past who required a corresponding set of new social services. From the report one must infer that multiculturalism in Australia has become an accepted fact. Among the recommendations was one urging that professionals with large immigrant clienteles should be assisted to obtain or upgrade language skills for use with these clients and to understand their cultures (Davis, 1981). Teachers were among those targeted to receive instruction in language, culture, and communication skills. Target language and cultural groups were Vietnamese, Italians, Greeks, Serbo-Croatians, or a mixture of immigrants (Davis, 1981).

Multiculturalism or Social Integration

Australia's present concern with bilingual multicultural education remains on a somewhat shaky foundation. The drive to modify the policy on integration of immigrants began--at least at the level of rhetoric--during the Labor government of the early 1970s (Grassby, 1973). The Liberal government, which followed in 1975, was less certain at first that it wanted to get on any bandwagon displaying the banner of multicultural education. By 1978, however, circumstances had changed enough that the Galbally Report (Galbally, 1978) pronounced a policy of respect for the cultural differences of recent immigrants. Among the services to be included for immigrants were those that would permit them to retain their ethnicity in their own communities in Australia.

The prospect of creating a multicultural society in Australia fails to excite many of its people. Those experiencing competition in the workplace with Vietnamese, who are willing to work longer hours at lower wages, reject the policy supporting ethnic communities. Others fear that bilingual education and multiculturalism will splinter Australian society and subvert national unity.

Teachers may agree that ESL programs should help immigrant children to learn English well, but beyond that point some suspect that multiculturalism will cause a confusion of educational goals. Social studies teachers in Australia are beginning to recognize that their curriculum must explain to children, immigrant and native-born alike, Australia's reverence for individual freedom and responsibility for tolerance and for parliamentary democracy. The curriculum, most agree, must also include content on the cultural background of Australia's population. Whether it will enhance the respect of the different ethnic groups for each other, strengthen an immigrant youth's sense of self-esteem, or decrease discrimination in the wider society has not yet been established (Bullivant, 1980). Social integration, for many of Australia's recent immigrants, remains incomplete.

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Minorities

West Germany, or the Federal Republic of Germany, is, of course, an entity created by the Allies after World War II. Established as a parliamentary democracy, West Germany has given sanctuary to those needing political asylum. One of the provisions of its Basic Law or constitution permits political refugees to be given asylum. Displaced persons from the east thus remained in West Germany until they found new homelands. East Germans who scale the Berlin Wall may stay in the Federal Republic under the same proviso (**The German Tribune**, 1980).

Guestworkers. As industries were reestablished in postwar Germany, workers were needed to fill West Germany's manpower needs. The government began to negotiate labor contracts with the governments of Southern Europe,

the poorer parts of that continent: Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey.

At first, mostly males came to work as semiskilled or unskilled workers in industry, construction, transportation, and service occupations. Unmarried women arrived, too, as did some wives. The vast majority of these foreign workers/guest workers--or **Gastarbeiter** as they came to be called--were without their families. During holidays they would return to their native villages or towns to visit their families and share their new wealth with them. What they were earning far surpassed whatever wages they might have garnered at home, so guest workers generally returned to West Germany, although some withdrew from the labor force once they had accumulated sufficient nesteggs.

In time, guest workers began to bring their wives and children to West Germany. By the mid-1960s, children from Turkey, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, and Italy began to appear in urban West German classrooms. Their numbers increased slowly until, in the early 1970s, West German educators saw the need for establishing educational provisions for the guest workers' school-age children, whose numbers had swelled to 300,000 (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1971). By 1976, the children of guest workers constituted between eight and ten percent of the West German school population (**The Bulletin**, 1976). Due to high birthrates, and despite the formal termination of further labor contracting abroad, by 1977 the number of preschool-age children were estimated at 400,000 and those of school age (6 to 15) at 450,000 (Coburn-Staege, 1979). In West Berlin, one out of four children in primary school was a foreigner (**Kieler Nachrichten**, 1981). In 1982, of the 4.63 million foreign nationals that lived in the Federal Republic of Germany, 33 percent were Turks, 14 percent were from Yugoslavia, 13 percent

were from Italy, 7 percent were Greek, and 4 percent were Spanish (**The Week in Germany**, 1980a).

> According to statistics released on November 10, 1980, by the State Ministers of Education, almost one in ten elementary school students in the school-year 1979-80 was of foreign parentage. Almost half of them--45.7 per cent--are children of Turkish "guestworkers." West Berlin has the highest percentage of foreign students (27.1 per cent), followed by Hamburg (12.8), North Rhine-Westphalia (12.3) and Baden Wuerttemberg (12.0). (**The Week in Germany**, 1980b, p. 5)

> The proportion of births to foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany is almost twice as high (13.5%) as the proportion for the total population (6.3%), despite the fact that almost 62% of married foreign women have a job (as against 43% of married German women). (Council of Europe, 1981, p. 3)

Although the birthrate among West Germany's foreign residents appears to be declining, it is projected that by 1985, ten percent of the children in German schools will be Moslem (**The Week in Germany**, 1981). The percentage will be even higher in the industrial areas where Turkish and most other foreign workers are employed (**The Week in Germany**, 1980c).

These statistics show that guest workers in West Germany constitute a distinct part of the population. Their children cannot be ignored in the educational system. That necessity is based first on the compulsory education provisions, which apply to all German children and are based on humanistic as well as economic motives, and second, on the ties among Common Market countries. Workers may move freely among member states. Educational qualifications are supposed to be interchangeable for employment. The Common Market agreements also assume that an educated population reinforces the economies of the member states.

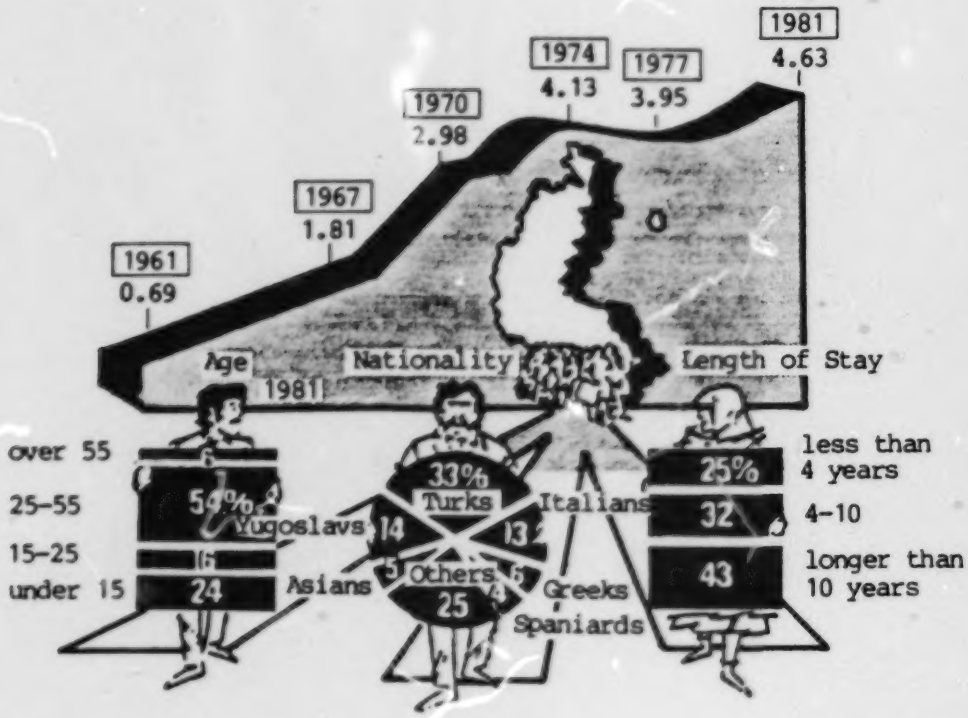
Political refugees. Like the children of guest workers, the offspring of political refugees have come in ever greater numbers to register in

German schools. The political refugees mostly come from entirely different countries than the guest workers, countries that are culturally and linguistically very different also from Germany. In 1959, 3,000 political refugees sought admittance into the Federal Republic; that number had grown to 100,000 by 1980 (Asylrecht..., 1981). A steady stream from Eastern Europe became a flood during and immediately after the Soviet crackdown on Czechoslovakia in 1968. Until the mid-1960s, the number of political refugees from Africa, Asia, or the Middle East was insignificant, but thereafter and all through the 1970s the influx of persons from these regions has grown steadily. By 1980, 18,000 had come from Asia, 3,300 from Africa, and 4,500 from the Middle East. These figures exclude the 3,000 or so Palestinians, who are classified as stateless persons (Asylrecht..., 1981). Recent political upheavals in Turkey, such as attacks on Turkish Christians, have brought more Turks to West Germany (**New York Times,** 1981). The diversity of countries of origin poses tremendous problems for German educators who wish to provide bilingual education to the newcomers' school-age children.

European Economic Community nationals. Because of the European Economic Community (Common Market) agreements, nationals from member nations can and do move across borders to find work. British and Irish doctors, for example, come to West Germany because they receive higher salaries than in their own countries. These professionals are likely to bring their families when they make this sort of transition. Other people come for short periods to test the employment market. They may be cooks, waiters, skilled craftsmen, or white collar workers. If their children accompany them, the latter cannot be certain of remaining in a German school for very long. Figure 2 summarizes

Figure 2

FOREIGNERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY*



*in millions

(The German Tribune, May 30, 1982, p. 4)

the data on foreign nationals who were in the Federal Republic as of 1981. Included are European Economic Community (EEC) nationals, guest workers from non-EEC countries, and political refugees.

Education of Guest Workers' Children

Policies. In 1964, recognition was first given to the need for school services for guest workers' children. The Conference of Education Min-

isters considered the options of compulsory attendance, preschool classes, remedial education, and education in the native tongue. A double strategy was implemented, i.e., to have these foreign children prepared both for integration into West German life and to return to their home countries. As a result of the economic recession of 1967-1968 and the subsequent restriction on further immigration from the Southern European countries, the second of these strategies was preferred, namely, to offer an education similar to what these children might receive in their homeland, one culturally centered there. German was taught as a foreign language. Other subjects were taught in the children's home languages, often by teachers from Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Yugoslavia.

By 1976 the Conference of Education Ministers had agreed that whenever the children of foreign workers of any single ethnicity constituted more than one-fifth of any class, a separate section for these children could be established. In the meantime, the numbers of such children had increased, due to a high birthrate, decisions not to return to their homelands, and the arrival of other family members. As a result, segregation of the immigrant children in schools increased, more in some West German states than in others. Bavaria even sought permission from the ministers to establish ethnic classes in the **Realschule** and the **Gymnasium**, the two more difficult forms of secondary education, thereby confirming an approach resembling apartheid (Coburn-Staege, 1979).

Only recently has there been reconsideration of this strongly segregationist approach to educating the children of foreign workers. West Germans are aware of American conflicts over segregation and integration. They also are cognizant of the Common Market countries' intent to create a free-flowing labor market. Since West Germany belongs to the Council of Europe, West Ger-

mans have heard of that body's conclusion that international education is preferable to segregation of national groups in a country. These groups should be taught to live together, each respecting the ethnic characteristics of the others. West German states, consequently, are now aware of the need to socially and culturally integrate the children of foreign workers into the life of the Federal Republic and to teach German children receptivity to integration and understanding about the newcomers (Coburn-Staege, 1979).

In its recent report, "Recommendations for the Integration of Foreign Children and Young Persons into the German Education and Training System," the Federal Ministry of Education and Science urged (1) integrating foreign children with their German peers in classroom instruction, (2) increasing kindergarten enrollment of these children, (3) replacing ethnic classes with special two-year preparatory classes for children entering school after the compulsory entrance age, and (4) implementing lower teacher/pupil ratios in classes having large numbers of foreign pupils (Göbel, 1979). The Federal Ministry recommended that children of foreign workers be considered "integrated" after completing the four initial years of schooling in the **Grundschule**.

This policy of total integration into German culture and life, focused so much on the school, has special implications for West German preservice teachers. Financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, a three-semester course of studies supplementary to conventional teacher training, entitled "German as a Foreign Language," is available to students at the University of Mainz and the teachers college at Landau, both in that state. The first two semesters cover Turkish, Italian, and Greek; the third is devoted to subjects designed to increase the future **Grundschule** and **Hauptschule** teachers' understanding of the cul-

tural, economic, and social problems encountered by foreign children in the Federal Republic.

> They include, for example, information on the situation of foreigners in their home countries and in Germany, the significance of religion and the role of family life for foreign pupils. Information on the educational systems of the home countries is designed to help teachers to assess the pupil's previous knowledge or gaps and to include this in their teaching activity. (Göbel, 1979, p. 76)

The underlying aim of this program, and others like it, was expressed recently by Dr. Jurgen Schmude of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science when talking with the Turkish Minister of Education. "Turkish children must be fully integrated into the German educational system. At the same time they should maintain close ties with their native land through their mother tongue, culture, and religion" (Gobel, 1979, p. 90).

"The policy of the German federal government has been laid down in a number of guidelines.

> Preschool education — Preschool education should be adapted to the needs of migrant children, and there should be no fees.
>
> General education -- Foreign children should attend regular German classes as soon as they have knowledge of German. Mother tongue instruction should be offered under the supervision of the German educational authorities. In urban areas where there are many migrants all-day schools should be created. Schools with a higher percentage of migrant children should be granted more staff and better equipment. Educational and vocational guidance and counseling of migrants should be improved.
>
> Vocational/technical education — Special programs and courses for young migrants should be developed. The teachers should be prepared better for their task. Full time basic vocational education (**Berufsvorbereitungsjahr**) should take account of the specific situation of young migrants. Young migrants lacking formal school qualifications should be offered sufficient number of full-time vocational courses qualifying for a vocational career.

Adult education -- There should be more opportunities for migrants. (Council of Europe, 1980, p. 14)

The federal government has also prodded the **Länder**, or states, to join in financing several experimental programs. Their focus indicated the direction in which the government is moving regarding migrant education. At the preschool level they want toys and other learning materials for kindergartens with a high percentage of migrant children and early support provided for handicapped migrant children. In the regular schools the government seeks to initiate guidance and counseling, develop appropriate teaching materials, prepare teachers for the additional challenge, and create some all-day schools in urban areas where both parents often are employed. Vocational education is to be made especially attractive for migrant children to reduce the number who leave school without any job qualifications. Reaching out to adult migrants, the government wants programs set up that enable migrants to attain school leaving certificates, and they want opportunities for further education for women to be established (Council of Europe, 1980).

As guest workers increasingly take up permanent residence in West Germany and no longer send their children back to their respective home countries when they reach working age, the West Germans are altering their approach to educating these youth. To this double impetus must be added the high unemployment rate of these youth in West Germany and the ill feeling and prejudice toward guest workers and their offspring. Mindful of the nation's record of hatred and genocide during the Third Reich, leaders in government and in education have sought to reverse the trend.

Practices. Social integration began around 1960 when the children of guest workers entered West German schools to fulfill the requirements of compulsory school attendance. At first they were integrated into their respec-

tive classrooms without recognition that they would need instruction in German as a second language. When the number of such children increased enough to force an end to virtually passing over their unique instructional needs, the West German educational establishment began to consider steps might be taken to educate them. It is important to note that educational policy in the Federal Republic emanates from the state level, not necessarily within a single school.

Since bilingual teachers with a command of German as well as either Italian, Spanish, Greek, Turkish, or one of the languages of Yugoslavia were difficult to find in West Germany, some effort was made to bring teachers from these countries to those West German cities having a sufficient number of immigrant pupils. In the industrial Ruhr region, for example, six elementary schools had opened for Spanish children by 1971 (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1971). To persuade their more gifted graduates to continue their studies at the secondary level, a **Gymnasium** class was opened for such children. Here they were taught the **Gymnasium**, or pre-university secondary curriculum, in Spanish along with German. After three years in this school, the students were to transfer to the German **Gymnasium** and continue their studies there (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1971).

At a Freiburg school there are international preparatory classes "...where new arrivals (children of various ages and nationalities) spend a year getting ready for German classes" (**The Bulletin**, 1976, p. 179). In other cities, foreign children are separated by nationality and placed into special classes for two or four years or even for all nine years of compulsory schooling (**Frankfurter Rundschau**, 1980). In contrast, the city of Krefeld in the Rhineland (where, in the past eight years, at least one out of four children born had non-German parents) has, for the past ten years, used busing

to distribute the immigrant learners among all the city's schools and to limit the proportion of such children in any single classroom to between 20 and 30 percent. Not all parents like the busing, and real social integration does not follow once the children leave the school at midday (**Frankfurter Rundschau**, 1980). Turks, for instance, also attend the Koranic schools where, once again, they are separated from German children of their own age.

In Bavaria, the entry point for many guest workers, German as a second language has now been systematically introduced into teacher preparation, into the officially mandated curriculum guides, and as a scholarly discipline at the University of Munich (Stocker, 1979). In the industrial city of Duisberg, a roving educational/cultural bus offers vocational training to Turkish youth using a high-technology-equipped classroom (**The Week in Germany**, 1980d). A program of full-time accelerated vocational training and instruction in language skills for immigrants was recently initiated. "The courses last a year and are designed to achieve social integration by enhancing the participants' chances to find apprenticeship openings or to enter the labor market" (**The Week in Germany**, 1980e).

To avoid school failure and strengthen the immigrants' command of German, the Saar, one of the 11 West German states, has a program providing help with homework for 1,500 immigrant students as well as intensive German courses at 25 primary and lower secondary schools. Other states have provided special teacher-training programs for teachers who come from the immigrants' home countries, parent counseling to link the school and the immigrant's home more closely, preschool programs for these children, in-service education in German as a second language, and special introductory classes for foreign workers' children who wish to attend the **Realschule** or a **Gymnasium** (Council of Europe, 1980).

An elementary school in Hanover has experimented quite successfully with using a German teacher and a Turkish teacher as an instructional team in primary classes where the proportion of Turkish children has risen from 15 percent in 1973 to 66 percent in 1981. Older students in the same school receive an extra five hours of instruction after school each week, all of this "to keep open for foreign pupils the possibility of returning home by giving them a good grounding in their native language but without burdening them too much with extra lessons" (**Frankfurter Rundschau**, 1981).

The academic and social integration of foreign students into classes of primarily native speakers of German has proved to be exceedingly difficult in a number of inner cities. Guest workers tend to move into older working-class neighborhoods where housing is least desirable. At the same time, German workers move away as they become more affluent. It is often impossible to achieve the goal set by the Conference of German Ministers of Education of having an upper limit of 20 percent foreign pupils per classroom. Instead, in West Berlin and in industrial cities such as Mannheim, many inner-city classrooms contain only foreign pupils and some contain as many as 60 to 70 percent of such students. Since native German-speaking children are more likely to move on to the more difficult **Realschule** or **Gymnasium** at grade 5, in many cases, the lowest track **Hauptschule** serves only foreign students (**Süddeutsche Zeitung**, 1980). Neither academic nor social integration has been achieved. The only bright spot on the horizon for teachers in the **Hauptschule** is their discovery of a full range of talent among their mix of foreign students. Not all the good learners have been drained off by the other two types of secondary schools. Table 3 offers an overview of the variety of approaches to bilingual education and social integration found in the several West German states.

Table 3

DIFFERENT WAYS OF REPRODUCING AN UNDERCLASS

Type of Class	Language of Instruction	Goal	Integration/Assimilation Physical German Children	Guest Worker Children	Content (C) Ideology (I)
1. German "regular" classes	L_2	Assimilation	--	+	C++ I++
2. "Special" classes	L_2	Transition and Assimilation	--	+	C+ I++
3. International preparatory classes	L_2	Transition?	--	+	C- I+
4. 1-2 year national preparatory classes	L_2 and L_1	Transition?	--	--	C- I^+
5. National preparatory classes, several years' duration	L_1	Transition?	--	--	C- I-
6. Complete national classes	L_1	Maintenance	--	--	C-- I--

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 99)

To include the children of guest workers in the regular classes where German is the only language of instruction indicates minimal concern for these students' academic, social, economic, and political prospects. This policy has become outdated in most German schools. Temporary special classes taught by German teachers to prepare foreign students for the transition to German are used in West Berlin. Assimilation is the eventual goal. Baden-Wuerttemberg has organized separate classes for foreign students where, regardless of their nationality, they are taught German as a second language

to prepare them for later transition to regular classes. In some places the former classrooms are made up of children of a single nationality. In Hamburg and North Rhine-Westphalia, national preparatory classes with teachers from the students' country of origin follow the syllabi of that country. At the same time, students are taught German as a second language. Some time before grade 7 students may transfer to a regular German class. Finally, there remain some classes still taught completely by foreign teachers where maintenance of the home language is the goal and German may be ignored. On occasion, the Greek ministry of education has urged this approach in West German schools.

The concern over the language of instruction, the degree of social integration, transition, or maintenance of the native language and cultural ties to the home country do not affect all children of guest workers. An estimated 25 percent of compulsory school-age immigrant youth do not attend; any whose parents are in the Federal Republic illegally are very unlikely to come to school (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Neither social integration nor vocational preparation is likely to occur in these cases.

Results. The educational participation and achievement level of the children of foreign workers in West Germany fall short of comparable data for native-born Germans. "More than 50 per cent do not reach the school leaving qualification (**Hauptschulabschluss**). Fifty percent of those who ought to attend part-time vocational education (**Berufsschule**) do not avail themselves of this opportunity" (Council of Europe, 1980, p. 13). In a recent survey in Bavaria "only 30 percent had a German school-leaving certificate and just under 50 percent had left secondary modern school (**Hauptschule**) after the ninth year. Of the young foreigners without a German school-leaving certificate, 90 percent had no apprenticeship" (**Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger**, 1980),

an arrangement that normally all students who successfully complete nine years of compulsory education work out. Only four percent of Turkish children are found in either the **Realschule** or the **Gymnasium** (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

If the children's home language differs markedly from German or a German dialect other than high German is spoken around them most of the time, academic success becomes doubly difficult. A Turkish child from one of the minority language groups of that nation may find himself/herself in a home where the family speaks only Kurdish (a forbidden language in Turkey today), in a German village where some Turkish is taught, on the playground and in the village itself where the Swabian dialect prevails, in a classroom where German dictation and compositions are based on high German, and in a Koranic school where Arabic and the Arabic script are used (Neumann, 1979). Some would describe many guest workers' children as double semilinguals, i.e., showing incomplete language development in both the native language (L_1) and German (L_2).

Socially, too, the children of guest workers have difficulty gaining equal treatment from their German peers. Evidence from a study in the Ruhr indicated that more immigrant children want to play with German children than the other way around. Foreign children in schools are on the periphery of any classroom group until they become very fluent in German (Coburn-Staege, 1979). Psychologically, they often display confusion over identity. Social, psychological, economic, and academic disadvantages create innumerable barriers that confront children of guest workers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For their teachers, be they German or from the students' home country, the situation poses grave instructional problems. Many German teachers feel overwhelmed by the presence of guest workers' children in the classroom.

These teachers may not have received training in the teaching of German as a second language; they not only face the usual spread of ability and interest but also children from several Southern European countries; they may not feel well acquainted with the cultures of each of these nations; they may be obligated to provide an additional five hours per week of instruction to which these children are officially entitled. If such teachers are in a **Hauptschule** in an inner city, the majority of the students may be guest workers' children. Teachers from one of the home countries of the foreign workers may need upgrading of their teacher preparation so that their teaching style will conform to that used by native German teachers, a style that tends to be more open and less rigid than those traditional to many Southern European schools.

The attempt to integrate foreign workers' children into West German society gets bogged down in several ways. Besides difficulties in communicating in German, these children, like their counterparts in Sweden, often live in enclaves or ghettos in German cities. Because of a growing animosity toward foreigners, children's play may turn into fighting if ethnic pride appears challenged. Because foreign workers' children may lag behind their West German age cohorts, they are mistakenly considered less able than West German youth. The negative estimate of their ability appears to be corroborated when they fail to qualify for apprenticeship upon leaving school. Many received inadequate schooling before coming to the Federal Republic, where they entered school late without a command of German and placed in a grade lower than their age group. When they reach age 15 and can leave school, they have not completed the usual nine grades. As they join the ranks of the unemployed, West Germans ponder how to correct the migrants' children's educational misadventure or how to persuade them to return to their home countries. Repatriation thus alleviates any concern for social integration.

Judging by the increase in graffiti calling for the expulsion of foreigners (**New York Times**, 1982) and violent incidents directed especially against Turks, one must conclude that a good many Germans favor repatriation (**Der Spiegel**, 1982). The government has taken steps to make that move relatively attractive to foreign workers. The harsh fact of the matter, however, is that many have no real place to return to. Their German-educated children may feel little affinity to their parents' home country. Their opportunities for work or a personally satisfying life appear even more bleak there than in West Germany.

Much public discussion centers on the population's attitude toward foreign workers. **Ausländerfeindlichkeit**, or antagonism toward foreigners, upsets those who see in it evidence of racial prejudice. West Germans still remember and wish to avoid anything resembling the Hitler years and the Holocaust. For this reason, social integration as an accompaniment of bilingual education appears essential. Surely for that reason "...a Cologne primary school has refused to open a new reception class this [past] September, on the grounds that it would not be 'racially integrated.' Only five out of 30 six-year olds registered at the school had German parents....'We don't want a ghetto-school,' a Cologne education official commented". (**The Times Educational Supplement**, 1982, p. 13).

ALIENATION OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

If social integration is a goal for newcomers from abroad in the schools, any extensive separation of these pupils into classes taught in their home language easily creates a gulf between them and the native pupils. America's experience with segregation is such that one would urge others to opt for early integration of new foreign pupils into regular classrooms. Following

the Swedish model, one may then provide special host country language classes, study guidance, and home language instruction in order to aid newcomers and to minimize the cultural disruption experienced by immigrant children.

One also may consider the difference between an immigrant and a migrant. The first term refers to a person moving into a country, often to remain there permanently. The second is used to describe people who move around, mainly in order to seek seasonal work. In the case of both West Germany and Sweden, the difference between the migrant and the immigrant is blurred. Except for political refugees, foreign workers may move relatively freely between their homelands and the other two nations. For their children, however, alienation in the host country and estrangement from the home culture is in evidence. As they mature and become bilingual, they face the prospect of returning to their parents' homeland which in many ways is alien to them. While repatriation of foreign workers is being urged by some in West Germany and Sweden, that step may serve older immigrants or migrants but may lead migrant youth to distrust those around them. The migrants' teenage children may decide to settle in the host nation and to seek their own version of assimilation. In the latter case early social integration in school will facilitate that process.

The case of Australia is somewhat different. Here the jet age now makes return to the home country a possibility, although few immigrants do so except for short visits. Australia's educational policies so far have supported education with a focus on the immigrants' own culture and language. There are few measures to ensure the political socialization of immigrants' children although learning English is a requirement in schools.

As Australia's ties with Britain weaken, and her population becomes less skewed toward those of British or Irish origins, a move to stress the development of an Australian identity in chidren is underway. The Victorian Second-

ary Social Science Project clearly points in that direction. As immigrant pupils are taught about their new country, they can more readily identify with their fellow Australian pupils and together evolve what it means to be called an Australian. In every case, a knowledge of English--that is, of the host country language--is a necessity if social integration is to be an outcome of school attendance. These policies and the others developed by Australia, Sweden, and West Germany not only demonstrate alternative approaches to bilingual education but also point to apparent effects in reference to social integration.

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